

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF:WBEDMONDSON:WLK

APPROVED BY AF:WESCHAUFEL:

S/S APSHANKLE

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S E C R E T STATE 299903 TOSEC 320145

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH, ZA

SUBJECT: TEXT OF YOUR SEPTEMBER 25 LETTER TO KAUNDA

1. REPEATED BELOW FOR YOUR POSSIBLE REFERENCE IS TEXT OF MESSAGE YOU SENT TO LUSAKA FOR PRESIDENT KAUNDA VIA STATE 239414 (DTG 252056Z SEP 76) WHICH IS PRESUMABLY THE SEPTEMBER 26 LETTER REFERRED TO IN LONDON DAILY MAIL ARTICLE OF DECEMBER 9.

2. BEGIN TEXT: "DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I UNDERSTAND THAT YOU AND PRESIDENT NYERERE WILL BE MEETING VERY SHORTLY TO DISCUSS THE RHODESIAN SITUATION, IAN SMITH'S STATEMENT AND THE NEXT STEPS IN A SETTLEMENT. I ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH YOU.

3. "THERE ARE SEVERAL POINTS, IN MY JUDGMENT, THAT ALL OF US MUST KEEP IN MIND AS WE CONSIDER WHAT IAN SMITH SAID. FIRST, SMITH'S REMARKS WERE ADDRESSED TO AN AUDIENCE WHICH COULD ONLY RECEIVE THE NEWS WITH THE DEEPEST SENSE OF SHOCK. HE THEREFORE USED LANGUAGE WE WOULD NOT HAVE RECOMMENDED BUT WHICH HAS TO BE UNDERSTOOD. SECOND, THE

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SALISBURY AUTHORITIES ARE NOW IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO

MAJORITY RULE WITHIN A TWO-YEAR PERIOD. THIRD, THEY ARE ALSO COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF A BLACK MAJORITY

INTERIM GOVERNMENT. FOURTH, THE SIXTH POINT IN SMITH'S ANNOUNCEMENT - THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM - IS A MATTER FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE MEMBERS OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM AND NOT A SUBJECT ON WHICH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS NEED TAKE A POSITION. FIFTH, THE SPECIFICITY OF SMITH'S PROPOSALS IS DUE IN LARGE PART TO OUR PRESSURE. WE FEARED THAT A GENERAL PROPOSAL WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE HIM TO PROCRASTINATE LATER.

4. "THERE ARE ASPECTS OF SMITH'S ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED IN GREATER DETAIL. I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS:

--I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A MEETING TO NEGOTIATE THE FORMATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT NEED TAKE PLACE IN SALISBURY OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN RHODESIA. NOR DO I BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO HOLD SUCH A MEETING IN LONDON. WE ARE PREPARED AS YOU AND I DISCUSSED TO BACK THE CONVENING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ANY OTHER PLACE MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TO ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

--THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY THAT, UNDER THE PROPOSALS, SMITH CAN RUN THE SHOW. INDEED, ONCE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS FORMED, THE PRESENT STRUCTURE IN SALISBURY WOULD DISAPPEAR.

--IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT EACH SIDE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE FREE TO NOMINATE ITS COMMUNITY'S MEMBERS TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE. EVEN THOUGH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD BE EUROPEAN, IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO BE SELECTED WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE OTHER MEMBERS. IN SHORT, HIS SELECTION COULD ONLY BE BASED ON A CONSENSUS OF THE MEMBERS AT LARGE.

--THE UNITED STATES WILL PROMOTE NO INDIVIDUAL OR FACTION ON THE AFRICAN SIDE. THAT RESPONSIBILITY FALLS TO THE RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS AND IN THIS MATTER YOU AND PRESIDENT NYERERE HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY.

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5. "I BELIEVE THAT THE OTHER QUESTIONS RAISED BY IAN SMITH'S STATEMENT ARE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION. IT IS MY JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, THAT AN UNGENEROUS RESPONSE TO SMITH'S STATEMENT AT THIS POINT WILL GIVE HIM THE CHANCE WHICH HE MAY WISH, TO BACK AWAY FROM HIS COMMITMENT. WE MUST AVOID SUCH AN EVENTUALITY AT ALL COSTS. THE PROPOSALS WHICH WE ADVANCED TO SMITH ARE A DISTILLATION OF THE

CONSULTATIONS WE HAD WITH YOU AND THE OTHER FRONT LINE  
PRESIDENTS AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

6. "WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING MATTERS  
THIS FAR AND CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS IF  
THE FRAMEWORK WHICH THE SMITH ANNOUNCEMENT OFFERS DOES  
NOT LEAD TO NEGOTIATIONS. A BREAKDOWN IN THE SETTLEMENT  
AT THIS POINT COULD ONLY LEAD TO CONTINUED AND ESCALATING  
VIOLENCE, SO A DECISION NOT TO ACCEPT THE OPPORTUNITY  
NOW OFFERED WOULD BE A SERIOUS ONE. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW, IN  
SHORT, IS A POSITIVE RESPONSE WHICH WILL MAINTAIN MOMENTUM.  
A POSITIVE RESPONSE IS NEEDED FROM THE AFRICAN LEADERS NOW  
BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THAT CONTINUED US PRESSURE MAY BE  
NECESSARY TO KEEP THE RHODESIANS TO THE EXECUTION OF THE  
CONDITIONS IN THE PROPOSALS. THIS WE PLEDGE, IF THE  
AFRICAN RESPONSE ENABLES NEGOTIATIONS TO GO FORWARD.

7. "YOUR WISDOM AND FORESIGHT HAS BEEN VITAL IN BRINGING  
THE PROCESS THUS FAR AND I COMPLETELY SHARE THE VIEWS YOU  
SO ELOQUENTLY EXPRESSED THAT THERE MAY NOT BE ANOTHER  
OPPORTUNITY AND MATTERS MAY TAKE THEIR INEXORABLE COURSE.  
IT IS MY EARNEST HOPE THAT THE MOMENTUM TOWARDS A  
SETTLEMENT AND PEACE CAN BE MAINTAINED AND THAT THE  
PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL MEET WITHOUT DELAY.

8. "I LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING YOURS AND PRESIDENT NYERERE'S  
AND PRESIDENT KHAMA'S VIEWS. WITH WARM REGARDS, HENRY A.  
KISSINGER." END TEXT. ROBINSON

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TOSEC, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 10 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ElyME  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE299903  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** WBEDMONDSON:WLK  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X3  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P840099-0427  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761253/aaaabuad.tel  
**Line Count:** 143  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ElyME  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 24 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by morefirh>; APPROVED <13 SEP 2004 by ElyME>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** TEXT OF YOUR SEPTEMBER 25 LETTER TO KAUNDA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PDEV, PSDC, RH, ZA, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (KAUNDA, KENNETH DAVID)  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006